FBIS DAILY REPORT

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VENICE SUMMIT STATEMENT SEEN AS 'INTERFERENCE'

LD251816 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] The statement made by the leaders of the seven Western nations in Venice on Afghanistan is an obvious example of interference in the internal affairs of the independent country of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The contents of this statement indicate that the leaders of some of the European countries, without any inclination (?to understand), have given themselves the right to express their opinion about the destiny of the people of Afghanistan.

The public opinion in our country strongly protects against the attempts of some of the participant countries in the Venice summit who forward their proposals and conditions to the Government of Afghanistan and want to teach the Government of Afghanistan how to organize its external affairs.

SOVIET VOCATIONAL EDUCATION OFFICIAL ARRIVES IN KABUL

GF251803 Kabul International Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] The deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, Konkin, arrived in Kabul today at the head of a delegation. He will visit vocational institutions and hold talks on expanding Soviet aid to Afghanistan in the field of higher education.

CULTURE MINISTER DEPARTS FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GF251743 Kabul International Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] Information and Culture Minister 'Abdol Majid Sarboland left Kabul for Prague today at the head of a delegation on an official and friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Government.

In a predeparture statement at Kabul International Airport, Sarboland said: During my visit I shall hold talks with Czechoslovak officials on the expansion of bilateral cultural cooperation and sign the relevant agreements.

During his visit, the information and culture minister will inspect the international (Carlo Leonari) (?exhibition) and the sports parade in [words indistinct].

The information and culture minister was seen off at Kabul International Airport by members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Revolution Council members, ministers, the deputy ministers of information and culture, directors of broadcasting organizations, Information and Culture Ministry officials and the Czechoslovak ambassador in Kabul.

AFP: WITHDRAWING SOVIET TROOPS REACH BORDER

BK251644 Hong Kong AFP in English 1643 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] New Delhi, June 25 (AFP)--One division of Soviet troops and 108 tanks which left Kabul on Monday have reached the Soviet border town of Tirmiz, highly reliable reports quoting Afghan Government sources said.

The reports reaching here speak of increased activities in the Khayr Khanah Soviet Army garrison, north of Kabul, and said that more troops are likely to be withdrawn.

AFP: REBELS BLOW UP SOVIET PIPELINE, KILL SEVEN

OW251335 Hong Kong AFP in English 1229 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] New Delhi, June 25 (AFP)--Afghan rebels blew up a section of the 500 km (312 miles) new oil pipeline that runs from the Soviet border to a major Russian military depot at Doshi in Baghlan Province, north Afghanistan, sometime last week, first-hand reports reaching here said today.

The reports, quoting Western diplomatic sources in Kabul, said that local villagers saw huge flames after a rebel group blasted the pipeline at Poli Homari, about 58 km (30 miles) from the Russian base.

At least seven Russian guards were killed and in the shootout five rebels were shot dead, the reports said.

The pipeline, which was constructed by the Russians after Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan on December 27 last year, runs through Qonduz, Baghlan and Parvan provinces. The pipeline was being used for bringing oil to the Russian troops in Afghanistan.

The Russians have started repairing the pipeline, but since the damage is extensive, it would take at least two weeks before oil could flow again, the reports said.

To keep up the oil supply the Russians are using oil tankers, but there have been incidents of sabotage and sniper attacks on tanker convoys, the reports said.

Consequently, transport aircraft are now being used to bring oil from the Soviet Union to Kabul and other places where the Russians have constructed air strips, the reports said.

Meanwhile, unconfirmed reports reaching here from Kabul said that at least 40 Russian soldiers were killed when a rebel group attacked a Russian army unit on the Kabul-Jalalabad road last Monday.

The incident took place near Sorboi, about 60 km (36 miles) from Kabul.

L'HUMANITE REBUTS MEDIA 'LIES' ON DEATHS OF OFFICIALS

LD260847 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 21 Jun 80 p 9

[Jacques Coubard dispatch: "Dead People Feeling Fine"]

[Text] Kabul, 20 June--Babrak Karmal has committed suicide for the 19th time, at least: Voice of America and the media passed on the news. I admit that at such levels the lie has ended up not worrying very many people in Kabul. The Afghan president--he appeared on television yesterday evening--received Vietnamese and Bulgarian delegations on Thursday. The speculations on his state of health, on his forthcoming overthrow by leaders of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] are as imaginary as the announcement of his suicide.

The attack on General Qader, former Afghan Air Force chief, alleged to have been wounded the day before yesterday in front of the Foreign Ministry just a stone's throw from my hotel, adds to the list of lies dreamed up in the West and attributed to a Japanese traveler arriving in New Delhi in keeping with a carefully perfected process.

On checking with the information minister I found that General Qader left for Moscow on Wednesday morning. He has gone there for the treatment required by his state of health, which suffered during his imprisonment under the Amin government. The general, who is a member of the Revolution Council Presidium, is famous here for the role he played in overthrowing Prince Daoud's regime, and this is probably why he has been picked as the target of the new Afghanistan's enemies.

The mechanisms of deception are well known. When Planning Minister Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand went to the Soviet Union for medical treatment 3 months ago, the press and radio announced that he had been killed during an armed clash between members of the PDPA Central Committee. He recently attended a CEMA meeting as an observer.

Mahmud Barialay, Central Committee member and party international relations chief, was also "assassinated...." However, he in fact left for Ethiopia the same day.

No Soviet Helicopter Shot Down

I am able to add that no Soviet helicopter has been shot down near Kabul. There is no special tension here. Families stroll through the city's main square, (Zarnegar) park, when a little coolness comes to make people forget the burning sun and dust of the day.

This campaign of lies scandalizes all those with whom I have spoken. The attitude adopted by the French press, especially the "reports" published by LE MONDE, LE FIGARO and FRANCE-SOIR, have outraged voluntary workers and members of the French community to such an extent that they have expressed their annoyance to the embassy.

Those who want to stifle the young Afghan revolution under this torrent of lies are dreaming. Whatever the obstacles, the truth will prevail.

ARMORED CORPS PARTY ACTIVISTS HAIL CC PLENUM DECISIONS

WA261310 Kabul NEW TIMES in English 28 May 80 p 4

[Text] Kabul, May 28, (BAKHTAR)--Party activists of the 15th Armoured Corps at a meeting hailed the second PDPA CC [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee] plenum decisions.

Following the election of the meeting chairman, member of the PDPA CC and local deputy head of political department, Lt. Col. Mohammad Hashem, discussing the historical speech delivered by Babrak Karmal at the Second PDPA CC Plenum, drew the attention of the participants toward their grave responsibilities, asking them to consolidate their unity of thoughts and action in carrying out their tasks ahead.

COMMENTARY DEFENDS ARMS PURCHASE FROM USSR

BK251101 Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1010 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Mahendra Kumar commentary]

[Text] It would not have been necessary to comment on the recent agreement between India and the Soviet Union about the purchase of defense equipment from that country if the agreement had not been given a wrong interpretation by Pakistan. In fact, the agreement is neither extraordinary nor new. Negotiations had been going on for about 19 months. The agreement had indeed been reached on most points by the middle of 1979, except the rate of interest. It is wrong to say that this agreement is a reaction to any moves by Pakistan or any other political development.

The figure of 13 billion rupees for defense purchase may sound very big, but, in fact, it is not so. The reality is that instead of (?confining) to different agreements about the equipment required by each wing of the defense forces, a comprehensive agreement has been reached about the requirements of all the three wings. If a comparative study is made, it will be found that this figure does not exceed the transaction with Britain for the purchase and subsequent manufacture in the country of the Jaguar aircraft.

It should be remembered in connection with this agreement that its aim is not the expansion of India's armed forces. What is aimed at is the replacement of obsolete equipment without which Indian defenses can be seriously impaired. It does not mean that India is arming itself against some real or imagined danger. But any country has to keep itself prepared to meet any eventuality so that it may not be taken by surprise. That is exactly what this acquisition of defense equipment from the Soviet Union is meant to achieve.

The agreement is in keeping with the normal bilateral relations between the two countries. Over the years, the Soviet Union has been supplying defense equipment needed by India. What is more, it has been giving to India facilities denied by other countries. It has not only been selling much needed defense equipment, but has also been helping India to develop the capability to manufacture a number of items within the country. On the other hand, most of the Western countries refused to grant India the manufacturing rights for most of the sophisticated defense equipment supplied by them.

It has also to be kept in mind that the agreement with the Soviet Union is purely a commercial deal under which the Soviet Union will give credit for the purchase of defense equipment on interest at the rate of 2.5 percent per annum. The amount will be repayable over a period of 17 years.

It will thus be seen that the allegation made by the Pakistan president that India has started an arms race is totally unfounded, to say the least about it. It appears that Pakistan was in search of some excuse to start obtaining arms from outside on a big scale, and for this the India-Soviet agreement came quite handy. Pakistan was only on the lookout for some propaganda plank on the basis of which its campaign to purchase arms could be started. So Pakistan took no time to make the false allegation.

It will be wrong to carry the impression that Pakistan has started this campaign only now. It has already been receiving large-scale arms aid from China.

It has also been receiving generous loans from Saudi Arabia and Libya for the purchase of arms from the United States and West European countries on a cash basis. It has also to be kept in mind that the reason why Pakistan did not accept the recent offer of aid by America was that it was not enough, it was much less than what Pakistan wanted, and now General Ziaul Haq's foreign minister, Mr Agha Shahi, is already touring European countries hunting for arms.

If Pakistan limits its arms purchases to the requirements of modernizing its army, there should be no objection. But the scale at which Pakistan is now acquiring arms goes much beyond its normal requirements. Pakistan has always been insisting on maintaining an overall parity with India in this respect. But this insistence on parity is very unreal [as heard]. It should be remembered that apart from its border with Pakistan, India has to defend a long and difficult border with China as well as a very long coastline. Naturally, India's requirements are much larger and varied than those of Pakistan.

If, by presenting India's agreement with the Soviet Union in an entirely wrong light and by insisting on parity, Pakistan launches on a large expansion of its war machinery, that would really amount to starting an arms race in this region. This should be objected to by every country of the region.

CHINESE REPORTEDLY DROPPING LEAFLETS IN ASSAM

BK260617 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 18 Jun 80 p 7

[Text] Silchar, 17 June (UNI)--Bunches of propaganda leaflets printed in Chinese have been dropped from battery-operated colored balloons at a number of rural pockets of Cachar District in southern Assam during the past 10 days, according to the police.

A balloon and some leaflets were recovered yesterday from Salchara, about 15 km from here.

The leaflets, printed on glossy papers, also contain colored photographs showing the affluent life style of a city community with marked ethnic features. One photograph shows a ship named Hua Lien berthed in a jetty.

A photograph in another leaflet, with a caption in Chinese script, shows a wide boulevard crammed with automobiles and gaudily dressed petite Mongoloid young girls leisurely sauntering about with their shopping bags.

While police were trying to decipher the leaflets, knowledgeable sources here believed that these balloons were sent up by Kuomintang China and South Korea, with the help of a Western intelligence agency, towards upper Burma.

TEXT OF KHOMEYNI SPEECH TO GROUP OF WORKERS ON 25 JUNE

LD251430 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0950 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] Dear listeners: As we informed you at the beginning of this newscast, at his general weekly meeting held this morning, Imam Khomeyni, leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, made a very important speech to the members of the Islamic Council of Iranian Workers, a number of the employees of the Health Department of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and other strata of people who had gathered in the hoseyniyeh [a type of mosque] in Jamaran. We bring this newscast to an end by broadcasting the text of the imam's speech: [begin Khomeyni recording]

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. I express my thanks to the gentlemen who have taken the trouble to come here to see me, the workers [words indistinct] and other gentlemen. It would have been much better for me to be a servant than a leader. [prolonged sobbing by the crowd, followed by shouts of "God is great"]. I hope that all of us, all the working gentlemen and their friends, the military gentlemen and their friends, and other strata of this nation pay attention to a very important issue. The issue is that you know--especially you workers--which groups have been fighting against the revolution right from the beginning. Different groups with varying ideologies have been opposing Islam. Certain groups which emerged after the revolution's success are claiming to be Muslims and have become more Muslim than you. They claim to be revolutionary and have become more revolutionary than you. They even regard themselves as the founders of the revolution. While the oppressed masses of our nation--the workers, farmers, students and all others--carried out the revolution and brought it to fruition, up to its present form, these people were either watching from abroad or were inside the country but were merely watching to see who would win. They did this so that, if the group of the deposed shah was victorious, they would support it, and if you and the nation were victorious, they would come and make various claims and wish to have everything for themselves. In your name, in the name of workers--although they have no regard for the workers--in the name of other strata, they wanted to get busy and prevent this revolution from achieving its goal, the goal which is desired by Islam and by the prophet of Islam.

Since they have derived no benefit from Islam and since their masters have been repulsed by Islam, they are now completely against Islam, even if in the past they were just a little opposed to it. These different groups which have grown like mushrooms and have raised their heads from the earth, those who for a long time were in foreign countries and who were awaiting an opportunity to come to Iran, they do not want this revolution to succeed. This is a danger for our revolution, not in the sense that they have the temerity to do something active and reverse the course of the revolution, but in the sense of creating some trouble. You saw that they caused some trouble in Kordestan. Not that they managed to win; no, they merely caused trouble. They are causing trouble in Tehran. They are not capable of doing anything, but they can form an organization.

Whenever a new foundation is to be laid, these various groups which now exist in Iran create some disturbance at exactly the same time. In the beginning, when you and the nation were going to vote for the Islamic Republic, they created some disturbance in various corners. After this step was taken, they created more turmoil whenever you took another step. At the time when the Islamic consultative assembly was founded and when it started its work, they again created turmoil. They create turmoil and then they shout. They beat up other people, but then they themselves shout. This is their wont. They use this tactic. They want to prevent you from working.

They want to prevent the farmers from harvesting properly. At the same time, they shout: We are sacrificing ourselves for the nation.

These people who are using the Islamic Republic as a shelter and who wish to carry out their work in the name of the Islamic Republic, in the name of Islam, in the name of the masses, "khalq," [the word used by the guerrilla movements] and in the name of this nation--see what they are doing. It is possible for me to continue talking about Islam, to say [speaking rhetorically] that I am a devotee of Islam, a devotee of the masses, a struggler for Islam or a struggler for the masses [alluding to the leftist groups "Cherikha-ye Feda'i-ye Khalq" and Mojahedin-e Khalq"], but when you look at my deeds you see that right from the start that I have engaged in opposition, that I have resorted to guns and showed my opposition, that whenever there were some attempts at improvement I came forward and confronted them and knotted my eyebrows and pointed my gun. As soon as the plan for the improvement of the universities was drawn, they erected fortress in the universities in order to prevent anything from being carried out. They did this even though the universities were in the service of colonialism and it was one of the important prerequisites for this country to reform its universities. Even now, they keep erecting fortresses in the universities or outside the universities. They are determined to prevent cultural improvement, to prevent the cultural revolution from being carried out. They wish to keep the educational institutions the same as they were before, when they produced those people who were ministers and deputies in the former regime. They want to do this so that these people who come out of the universities can destroy our country as they did in the past. The former ministers, the former deputies, the former leaders were the intellectuals who were educated in the universities inside and outside the country. All the calamity which was inflicted upon this nation was due to those people who acted in the name of the nation, in the name of the struggler, in the name of the devotee or in other names, who did not leave the nation alone and who poured whatever you had into the pockets of foreigners and plundered some of it themselves.

Those people who were around the deposed shah form these very groups which are now active against this movement. Every day when this movement wishes to take one step forward.... [incomplete sentence as heard] The day the consultative assembly opened you saw turmoil created in Amjadiyeh [the stadium at which the members of Mojahedin-e Khalq clashed with the guards and with Muslim fundamentalists]; a crisis was created. Unfortunately, our young people are not aware of what these groups are doing and saying. Even some of the people who are close to me are not aware of the seriousness of the issue. They think it is an issue between the club-wielders and the demonstrators. This is not the issue. This is only a pretense for creating disturbances. The issue is very serious. The issue is America. The issue is America coming here and taking control of the destiny of our nation. The issue is not that some people wish to demonstrate and some people are against the demonstrations. This is not the issue. The issue is creating turmoil so that this country cannot be left alone and cannot move in the direction it is moving.

You working gentlemen who are an effective part of this country and who are trying to remove the hands of other people from this country, you have seen that during this year and few months they came among you, gave speeches, incited you or incited some groups to strike, and so on. They pretended that they were supporting you. If in a country the workers do not work and go on strike, the country will be paralyzed. Those who pretend to be supporting you [words indistinct] they really do not wish to help you. They say that they sympathize with you, and they paralyze the factories of the country. In the name of sympathy they paralyze agriculture. When the farmers have prepared their harvest, it is the same people who set fire to them. Even now they are busy setting fire to the harvests. If the harvests are not guarded, if they are not properly protected, these people will set fire to all the harvests.

This is how we identify the enemies of the movement and of the revolution--by whether they go along with the revolution, by whether they go along with the nation, by whether they go along with the farmers and the workers, and by whether they wish to release the country from foreign bondage. The only way to set the country free is by engaging in work, by working in agriculture, in the factories and in other institutions. If our country wishes to be free or independent, if it wishes to be independent of foreigners, the people should act. Those who come among you and prevent you from working or who set up a group which prevents you from working, those who receive money from abroad and give it to the ignorant workers so that they take part in strikes, those who cause disturbances among the farmers, those who go round the country (?among the country's forces) and create disturbances, those who, contrary to all the religious and divine principles, plunder and confiscate the houses of those people who own houses and property--all of these people are the roots of the former regime. We do not realize this.

It is not easy for them to leave us alone. They have lost their interests, their huge benefits, whether oil or other benefits. Our country is so located and so special that everyone needs it. Our country became the bridge of victory for the foreigners [referring to Iran's position during the World War II]. They will not leave us alone so easily. We should not ignore this fact; and now that we have achieved our freedom, we should not assist them by engaging in strikes and in acts of opposition. We should realize that there will be many troubles in a country after it has had a revolution.

You gentlemen are aware of what happened during the past 50 or so years. As far as I remember, and some of you also remember, in the past 50 or so years, by saying such things as "in the name of the great civilization" [term used by the shah] and "in 30 years I wish to make this country like Japan or even America," they destroyed everything in this country and gave it to those who had to have it.

Of course, one who wishes to engage in acts of sabotage will not announce that he is going to do so. He comes and says: I am your friend. They come and say that they are your devotees and that these mullahs are reactionary, talk nonsense and support the capitalists. If they come and tell the people the truth, they cannot achieve anything. They must say that the mullahs are reactionary but that they, on the other hand, are such and such and only wish to serve you. Those very people say: We wish to serve you, so go and cause the events in Kordestan. All of a sudden you see that all these groups, these very groups which create these disturbances and organize these meetings come from all over the country, assemble in Kordestan and cause trouble there. As soon as Kordestan becomes a bit more than calm and they see that they cannot do anything there, they leave there, go to Baluchestan and cause disturbances in that area. If the situation in Baluchestan is put right, they come back to the capital. The capital is a more suitable place for their activities because it is a large place. They come to the capital and, in the name of Islam, in the name of the Koran or in other names, they create turmoil and do not allow this country to be calm.

During the past year and a few months, when your Islamic Revolution succeeded and came into being through the powerful hand of you Muslim people and when you started to build all the organs necessary for the administration of the country, you often went to the voting booths and in complete freedom voted for the Islamic Republic and the consultative assembly. All this is like a dagger in the eyes of those who do not wish to see Islam succeed. They know that if this movement was not an Islamic movement it would not have been possible to perform all these tasks in such a short time. It is the strength of Islam which achieves all these things.

As you know, it has been more than 20 years since Iraq became a so-called revolutionary country. Now, in order to imitate Iran so as to be able to say that they are somebody, too, this year they have started holding some elections. You should know for certain that their elections are worse than those which took place during the reign of the shah. The people do not just go and vote. Just as during the time of the deposed shah they used to force certain groups of people and through force and fear make them go and vote, the Iraqis are even worse than that. They see that in the past 1 year and 5 months in Iran, all the principles which should exist in a country for the administration of its affairs have been established, and that after more than 20 years they have not been able to do any such thing. They have ruled only by means of bayonets, force, beating, imprisonment and mass killings. They cannot see your Islamic Revolution. When they try to analyse the situation and see what happened--Iranian people are no different from other people, all are human beings, everywhere they form some group which calls itself a party, what happened happened with such speed, such a miraculous speed in Iran--when they try to analyse all these things they see they were achieved due to Islamic ideology; it was the Islamic ideology which performed all these things. The people did all these things for the sake of God. When God entered the people, the people became God's hands. They worked for the sake of God and they clenched their fists for the sake of God--and I hope that this feeling will continue, as they should continue to maintain Islam and those who are closest to Islam and those who wish to preach the teachings of Islam to the people. This is why the enemies have made them the targets of their attacks so that they may deprive the revolution of its content. When the content is taken away and it becomes an empty facade they can deliver the final blow; the final blow is to return things to the way they were before, in a different form. Of course, the return of [word indistinct] is no longer possible; this cannot be done any longer.

To them it does not make any difference what it is, so long as it is not Islam. At the moment, these intellectuals say that the Majles should be the national consultative assembly, because its name used to be "national." They are scared of Islam; they do not wish it to be the Islamic consultative assembly. It is not that they are fond of the "national"; they do not want to have "Islamic." There is no article in the Constitution that says it should be "national" consultative assembly. There is no such thing in the Constitution. Of course, as they had to refer to it as something they have referred to it as the national consultative assembly; but it does not mean that they have decreed that its name should be national consultative assembly. It is as though in the Majles they say such a thing has happened in the senate building. This does not mean that our Islamic Constitution has decided to establish a senate. This is something which has been said. Now, the Majles should be the Islamic consultative assembly. They are even scared of the name of Islam. This is why they keep saying national, national.

It is not accidental that anytime you have decided to do something they have formed a gathering and have caused disturbances and have diverted the attention from one issue to another issue. They wish to divert the attention from one issue to another issue. They wish to divert the attention of the nation from the goal it has in front of it and to take it toward a different direction, a different path, no matter what it is. They create a tumult to attract the people's attention. They may distract the people for 1 month; they create a tumult to distract the attention of the people at least for a month, hoping that perhaps they can achieve something during this 1 month.

You should be vigilant. You should know your enemies. If you do not know your enemies you will not be able to dispel them. Your enemies are those people who from the first day when the Islamic Republic came into being, either boycotted the elections or went and set fire to the ballot boxes. Some of the ballot boxes were burned or destroyed.

Those people who boycotted the Islamic Republic have now become followers of the Islamic Republic. Those who used to set fire to the ballot boxes where people had cast their votes for the Islamic Republic have now become supporters. This is not true support. This is a trick in the name of support. If they say I [word indistinct] and have nothing to do with Islam, they know that this country is an Islamic country and they will not be permitted to do anything. They are forced to say that we are Muslims; but we should look at their deeds and see how they act. We should look at the disturbances they cause. From the beginning they have caused disturbances; all these hostile groups, every one of which has chosen a name for itself, have constantly created disturbance in order to prevent you from following the straight path which you should follow, from achieving your goal, from doing what God almighty, the all-blessed, has decreed for you.

Those very people who served in Mohammad Reza's government when he was here, have now become the opponents of Mohammad Reza. They are not really against him. They do this so that you either become neutral toward them or become their supporters. They are trying to deceive our pure, simple innocent youth with all the propaganda in which they are experts. The nation should be aware and should not be deceived by these people who pretend to be Islam's supporters. They should look at their deeds. They should see whether those who are talking of Islam act in an Islamic way, too, or whether they are building fortresses so that by hiding behind these fortresses they can destroy Islam. The highwaymen, too, call themselves Muslims even when they are stealing. We should not be deceived by their claims. We should look at their actions. We should look at their background and past records. We should look at the contents of the articles they write. We should try and see what they are trying to say in their propaganda. The mere fact of calling themselves Muslims is nothing. At the moment, all of them say they are Muslims, all of them say they are revolutionary. There is no one who says he is not revolutionary. Every person says that he is the true revolutionary person.

This oppressed nation of ours, this great nation of ours which with bare hands entered the scene and entered the streets and with clenched fists opposed the former regime and all the superpowers, has brought the issue to its present form. One says: Now I have come and wish to be its leader. To hell with you. Or another person says: We did all the work. What did you do? The fact that a number of people who were killed belonged to your group, does this make you revolutionary? You should see what are the aims of these groups which have penetrated the ranks of the people and are carrying out acts of sabotage. Unfortunately, some of the people who are not aware of such facts at times support them or say something that these groups make use of as being in their support. They are deceiving people. They are deceiving everyone. They even wanted to deceive me, but I was aware.

They even came to deceive me. For 20-odd days I gave them the opportunity to come and to say what they had to say. In their opinion, they thought they were misleading me. Unfortunately, some of the people who had come under the influence of these people--may God's blessing be upon them--they, too, had been deceived by these people (?and were being used by them) [words indistinct]. They had written to me saying that these people are the saved ones. It is like the story of the companions of the cave. I listened to them to see what they had to say. All of their words, too, were from the Koran and the "Nahej al-Balagha" [a book attributed to Imam 'Ali], everything they said.

It reminded me of a story which took place in Hamadan. Apparently, at the time of the late Seyyed Abdol-Majid Hamadani a Jew came and accepted Islam in his presence. The former noticed after a time that this Jew was too much of a Muslim and that he made so much pretense of Islam that he began to suspect him, and thought that perhaps he was indulging in hyprocrisy.

He asked him to come, and asked him: Do you know me? The Jew answered: Yes, you are one of the ulema of Islam. He asked: Do you know that I am one of the descendants of the prophet? He answered: Yes, you are descended from the prophet. He asked: Do you know yourself? He answered: Yes, I was a Jew and my father was a Jew. He asked: Well, tell me this secret, how is it that you have become more Muslim than I? The Jew discovered that he had realized the game he was playing.

The person who came to me for 20-odd days and was constantly talking of the Koran and of "Nahej al-Balagha", the thought crossed my mind that this gentleman was the same as this. Well, you believe in God and the prophet. I am neither a prophet nor an imam. I am a mere theological student. He came to deceive me so that I would support them. I said nothing concerning them; I merely listened. Only once, when he said: We want to take part in an armed uprising, I told him: No, you cannot take part in an armed uprising. Don't make idle boasts.

These people wish to destroy us by means of the Koran and the "Nahej al-Balagha". They want to destroy the Koran and the "Nahej al-Balagha" by means of the Koran and the "Nahej al-Balagha". It is exactly like what took place at the time of his holiness the commander of the faithful, when they put the Koran on their spears. His holiness the commander of the faithful was truly wronged. No matter how much he said: This is deceit, the situation is coming to an end, they will capture this place, they surrounded him and drew their swords and told him: We will kill you if you do not order a retreat. They raised their Korans. His holiness the commander of the faithful was forced to order a retreat. [Words indistinct] at his orders they retreated, and as they did so they were defeated. Even after all this had happened those very people who had drawn their swords against him before, once again drew their swords against his holiness the commander of the faithful.

We should recognize their action. Those people had the prayer mark on their foreheads. Ibn Muljam had the prayer mark on his forehead. We should see what he was trying to do with the prayer mark which was on his forehead. Islam has always been faced with some individuals who wished to destroy Islam in the name of Islam. Did not Mohammad Reza print Korans? Did he not go to Mashhad every year? Did he not use to talk of Islamic justice? Did he not used to say that His Holiness Abbas had saved him? He used to say all these things.

One of the strengths of these people is that quite in earnest and without the slightest shame they say that this or that is done by God, so that some people may follow them and so that even you may sometimes believe them. Many people believed that what they were saying was from the Koran and from Islam. We have to work hard for a time to expose their real face to the people. One of their faces which is shown is in the name of the Koran, the name of God, the name of the "Nahej al-Balagha" and so on; and this is dangerous. If we can expose the real face of people like Mohammad Reza and show them to the people, then we shall be victorious.

This took place in the case of Mohammad Reza. We fully showed his real face to the people. At every turn, we see that the spiritual leaders were the targets. The shah, in his speeches, used to call the clergy reactionary agents; they even used to say that the clergy were the agents of the British. Once I was in a car in Tehran, there were three of us wearing turbans in the car. I saw someone telling another: It is a long time since I last saw figures like this; they were trained by the British in Najaf and Qom to [word indistinct] our nation.

Even now we are classed as reactionaries. Our clergy at present are reactionaries; the likes of those I just mentioned are the intellectuals. All through the time of Reza Khan the ones who stood against him and clenched their fists were these same reactionaries; they are the ones who rose against him. The same clergy threw light on the people's minds.

They have been harmed by this society so they are trying to split people up. They have already separated the university people and now they are trying to separate the rest of society from the clergy, so that they can do what they want without anybody asking them why.

There is an issue I want to put before all the nation of Iran and all the clergy of Iran. I fear some of the people in turbans who have infiltrated the clergy and are engaged in sabotage in some places where they have some influence. I fear that these people will destroy the face of Islam. I am telling the clergy of Iran to make such individuals, who have infiltrated some committees or other places, known to the people; because such individuals have no connection with us.

Suddenly, we hear that all over Iran they have established imam committees. Who is this imam who has established all these committees? Is he informed at all? We do not know! Anybody who wishes to do something puts it under the name of the imam. With reference to what Mr Khalkhali did, it was right, but someone else also went about calling himself the imam's representative--I do not know him--and he demolished some mausoleums, some mausoleums belonging to some people on their own private land, a tomb which belonged to waqf [pious foundations]. He demolished it; these are some people who either do not understand what they are doing or, God forbid, they know what they are doing and are trying to destroy the movement.

I warn all the nation of Iran and all the clergy of Iran of the danger facing Islam and the clergy. I tell them all and discharge myself of my final responsibility, to repulse all these mullahs, who are disguised and have infiltrated the people and are molesting and bothering people, without any divine or Shari'a permission. These people are not my representatives. These people are trying to bring about disturbances and chaos, under the name of imam's representatives.

I must also say that these Revolutionary Guards Corps which have honestly served this country and are serving, their existence is very dear and respectable to this nation, and their action is valued by God. Sometimes someone might infiltrate them and (?cause discomfort) or present himself as a holy person and then he will be known as a guard; then suddenly the news comes to us that he has looted the house of such and such a person. No, he is not a guard, a guard is Islamic, a Muslim will not go looting people's houses, a Muslim person does not confiscate property belonging to someone else. These people doing such things are a different group.

We must understand how to finish the work, part of which we have already done, so as to avoid leading it to chaos and disturbances. Of course, according to the tradition of Islam, these avaricious landgrabbers and these great scroungers [word indistinct] must be tried; they must pay for their crimes. But this does not mean that the guards can pour in and do what they like. Many of their actions are right and some are wrong, such as extracting people's money from them. They do not understand that such people have infiltrated the clergy and have also infiltrated their ranks and are committing sabotage so to destroy and smash Islam. You must be vigilant. You must look out for those who commit sabotage and those who disturb people and commit the types of crimes which I describe. For example, [word indistinct] the reconstruction crusade is a very good organization and those working in it are working very hard and they will be rewarded highly by God. But the members of that same reconstruction crusade include some people who do certain things against the principles of the Islamic law and contrary to the regulations of the Islamic Government. Then people (?started complaining) and shouting that the reconstruction crusade was exhausting their patience.

You must try to recognize a pious person from a corrupt one, watch who is doing wrong in the name of Islam and who is committing sabotage under the name of Islam. If he is wearing a turban, throw him away, reject him and expel him from the ranks of other turban-wearing clergy.

If he is among the revolution guards, all the armed revolution guards who are bearing the burden must throw him aside. If he is in the army, the army personnel must reject him. If he is in gendarmerie or bazaar, then they must reject him. In factories the workers must throw him aside. These people are trying to infiltrate everywhere in the name of Islam and commit an obscene act in the name of Islam, and this is a danger to your movement. With the name of Islam, they are trying to (?show the people that they are doing something acceptable). They are committing a great crime and if we remain silent we are also committing a crime. We must tell, we must be practical.

Those committing crimes under the cover of Islam's name are not Islamic; they are anti-Islamic counterrevolutionaries who are infiltrated among various societies. Our nation must be very alert.

There is a need for vigilance, even more at the start [of the revolution]. In the beginning, they could recognize any person who was against Islam, without doubt.

The security organization [SAVAK] is known by all the people, and these gang leaders are also known to the people. Because they were known to the people, people could fight against them. Why were people fighting against them? These are the hypocrites who are worse than pagans, those who say they are Muslims and behave contrary to Islam. Those are the ones who have been condemned most severly in the Koran. Is there not a special chapter for the hypocrites in the Koran? This chapter from the beginning discusses the (?repulsive) characteristics of the hypocrites. Islam has always had to confront such kinds of people. In the early days of Islam, at the time of the reign of Amir al-Mo'menin, may God's mercy be upon him, the hypocrites were there. At the time of the noble prophet himself, may God's benedictions and salutations be upon him and his scion, and throughout history, human beings have had to face similar problems. All Muslims, all good people (?have suffered) at the hands of those disguised as Muslims.

One wealthy person came to see me sometime ago. When I talked to him about the issue of Iran, he said: "I fear things might get worse. No sir, you were not frightened of its [word indistinct].

When Reza Khan took the turbans of the clergy from their heads, [words indistinct] one of the clergymen of Qom, God bless him, told me that they intended to separate [word indistinct] from [word indistinct]. I told him that they did not intend to know the dispute, but they intended to recognize [word indistinct] in order to break the waist of [word indistinct].

It has existed, it has always been present, from the beginning of Islam until now, from the dawn of man until the present day. Different faces have always existed in these Islamic countries. The face is a fine Islamic face [words indistinct]. The outside of the face is Islamic but inside it is anti-Islamic. It is difficult to recognize these faces. Indentifying them is difficult. In particular our youths [word indistinct]. You workers, God save you for our country, God willing, and you military men, God save you for us, too, notice that today Islam is resting in my hands and in yours. In the times of Mohammad Reza we were not able to [word indistinct]. They said that it was a regime of the bayonet, what can we do? [Words indistinct] but today bayonets do not exist, there is Islam today, it has been entrusted to us and we are expected to be conscientious in safeguarding it. [Words indistinct] if today we are deceived by them or if, heaven forbid, we follow them, we shall be disloyal to safeguarding this trust. We must not be disloyal in safeguarding this trust. We must be trustworthy and save Islam, and may God save you.

And may success be with you. You are Islamic, make progress with this [word indistinct] and develop this movement.

May peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

QOTBZADEH CITES CONDITIONS FOR RELEASE OF HOSTAGES

NC251923 Paris AFP in English 1919 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] Paris, June 25 (AFP)--An end to the Western boycott on Iran and the unfreezing of Iranian funds in the United States are two economic conditions which must be met before American hostages are freed, according to Iranian Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh in an interview published here today.

The foreign minister, who said these funds amounted to 12,000 million dollars, made his statement in an interview with the French illustrated magazine PARIS MATCH.

Mr Qotbzadeh also listed political conditions, essentially a detailed investigation of American activities in Iran under the shah. He said America would have to say "which personalities in politics, the press and business received money from the shah, which persons were put into the Iranian Government; what role was played by CIA agents, gangs and the like."

He added that he was not opposed to Americans starting to work again in Iran "if they do it in a way which is advantageous for us as well as for them."

REZA SALIMI, SOVIETS COMMENT ON MOSCOW TALKS

LD251455 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 21 Jun 80 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Iranian Minister of Economy and Finance in Moscow and High-Ranking Soviet Official Sign Iranian-Soviet Protocol on Technical and Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] The protocol was signed on behalf of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran by Reza Salimi, minister of economy and finance and Iranian delegation leader, and Dr Mohammad Mokri, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and on behalf of the Soviet Union by Skachkov, chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, at the state committee offices.

After the agreement was signed Skachkov said: "We are generally satisfied with the negotiations since the existence of a friendly atmosphere, together with good will and neighborliness, helped us greatly in reaching agreement on the issues under discussion. The relevant organizations in both countries must now endeavor (to ensure) that the broadly drafted articles of the protocol are implemented in practical terms.

"The Soviet Union is cooperating with Iran in the implementation of 142 projects which will increase production and the level of employment in Iran."

Replying to Skachkov's remarks, Reza Salimi said: "The protocol which we have signed today arises out of agreements made in the past. In truth, it must be said that its aim is to remove the problems which they contained. We are not abrogating all past agreements, since many of them have been useful to our country and have increased production and employment in our country. I am thus hopeful that the signing of this protocol will remove these difficulties, while maintaining and preserving the interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran."

Following the signing of the protocol, Dr Mohammad Mokri said: "The signing of the agreement today is considered an effective measure in the expansion of friendly relations and neighborliness between us. As you know, since the Islamic Revolution was victorious we have desired that all countries having economic agreements with us should make the spirit of these contracts conform to the spirit of the Islamic Revolution. This is a day which will be remembered in the history of Iranian-Soviet relations."

Removed From Any Sort of Dependence

Dr Mokri added: "We have firmly decided that in our relations with foreign governments we shall avoid any sort of dependence--political, economic or cultural. Fortunately, following the victory of the Islamic Revolution, we declared void all agreements governing our foreign relations which were of a dependent nature. Our political independence is the result of our economic independence, and I give the assurance that Iran will never be either dependent on any country or a base from which other countries will be attacked."

At this point Skachkov replied: "Your Excellency, Ambassador; I am very much in agreement with what you say and I hope that his excellency the minister of economy and finance will approve of the expansion of relations between the two countries. I believe that the reality of the agenda of the ninth session of the permanent commission for technical and economic cooperation between the two countries will constitute one of the most important events in today's political life, and I am confident that His Eminence the Ayatollah Khomeyni and the Iranian Government will approve of the desire on the part of Iran for economic cooperation between the two countries, on the basis of mutual respect and an atmosphere of neighborliness.

"Following the victory of the revolution I traveled to Iran at the invitation of the Bazargan government and on instructions from Kosygin, and during the visit the problem of the 1,260 megawatt Varamin power station project was not solved [sentence as published]. Meanwhile, a number of issues were raised during the visit and normal facilities were extended to Soviet experts. After the revolution had taken place, we did not withdraw a single expert from Iran, thereby proving our good will and showing everyone that we desired to expand economic cooperation between the two countries, and that the Soviet Union had remained faithful to its commitments, and would continue to do so.

"I must say here that the Iranian minister of economy and finance has taken much trouble over the consideration and solution of problems at the ninth session, doing so in a constructive manner, and we draw the conclusion that his action reflects the attitude of the Government of Iran. Of course, not all problems have been solved. For example, we do not wish to [attempt a definitive] solution to the gas issue."

Following the signing of the Iran-Soviet economic cooperation protocol, which took place at the offices of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations in the presence of Soviet press, radio and television correspondents and Iranian newsmen, Minister of Economy and Finance Salimi took part in a Soviet television interview.

The Soviet television correspondent asked: "Could you give us your views on the result of the commission's work, examples of agreement and also the atmosphere of the negotiations?"

In reply, Salimi said: "Negotiations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Union on economic cooperation took place in a friendly atmosphere.

"In this period, we managed to discuss difficulties existing in the realm of Soviet ecoonomic cooperation with Iran and to remove them.

"The protocol which we signed today was connected with previous agreements and I hope that these talks on economic cooperation and the expansion of cooperation in the field of the transportation of goods in transit will continue."

MAJLES FAILS TO GET QUORUM; DEPUTIES ISSUE ANNOUNCEMENT

ID251458 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0930 GMT 25 Jun 80

[Text] An informal session of the Islamic consultative assembly of Iran was held today with Dr Yadollah Sahabi presiding as speaker. Reza Esfahani, the deputy from Varamin, criticized the informality of today's session in a speech and added: We expected the Majles to meet formally but we see again that it is unable to obtain a quorum yet.

After his remarks, an announcement from more than 120 deputies regarding the firm actions of the guards corps, the Muslim Kurdish peshmerga, the army and the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Kordestan was read and ratified by the deputies present. The text of the announcement is as follows:

We the signatories, the deputies of the Islamic consultative assembly, while appreciating the continuous efforts and decisive actions of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, the Muslim Kurdish peshmerga, devoted and faithful military men, and the gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the successful and complete cleansing of Kordestan and other Kurdish regions from the counterrevolution, and liberating the Muslim Kurdish people, expose and condemn the hypocritic maneuver of the counterrevolutionary groups in planting such slogans as just peace, cease-fire, and so on, which are in fact a trick to avoid an impasse and reinstall their usurping domination over the Kurdish people. We strongly demand from responsible authorities:

1. The mopping-up operations in the Kurdish regions must continue without delay and without doubt until the complete liberation of the Muslim Kurdish people.

2. The Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, the Muslim Kurdish peshmerga, and the revolutionary and faithful military men who are ready to sacrifice themselves for liberation and cleansing the western part of the country must receive full and coherent support from the authorities.

3. The cultural and development programs which have already begun in the region must continue and increase.

4. Any negotiation or compromise with counterrevolutionary groups in the western part of the country regarding a cease-fire or the fate of the Kurdish people must be avoided.

5. According to the Constitution, issues regarding the internal administration of the Kurdish regions can be considered only after the full cleansing of the region and the installation of security and sovereignty by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

After reading this announcement, Fakhr od-Din Hejazi, Tehran's first deputy, suggested that he accompany a [word indistinct] group of deputies to Kordestan for a week. Then a Qom deputy, and also deputies for Karaj, Hamedan, Tehran and Khalkhal made some remarks.

According to PARS NEWS AGENCY, 46 deputies in the Islamic consultative assembly in today's informal session of the Majles said they were willing to travel to Kordestan. The purpose of this visit is to increase the morale of the guards corps, the army and the Muslim Kurdish peshmerga.

RADIO TEHRAN ATTACKS FOREIGN MINISTRY FOR CLARK INVITATION

WA230040 Tehran TIMES in English 7 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] Tehran--The Foreign Ministry came under sharp criticism yesterday in a hard-line Radio Tehran commentary for inviting former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark to participate in the just concluded international Tehran conference on U.S. intervention in Iran.

Taking issue with what it termed the "conciliatory attitude" of the Foreign Ministry toward the U.S., the commentary said in part.

"Why in particular was former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark allowed to participate, when the whole point of the conference was to investigate the actions of just such people--present and former U.S. officials,--and when a previous mission (soon after the seizure of the U.S. hostages last November) by Clark was "sent back in disgrace by Imam Khomeini.

"We hope this clear departure from the imam's guidelines, which resulted in the participation of the vilest American agent--will be explained to the people by the Foreign Office officials."

The commentary added that the aim of the conference should not only have been to investigate past activities, but also to prevent future conspiracies.

The commentary called for a "comprehensive program" drawn up soon to "separate and demarcate our relations with America."

GILAN GOVERNOR WARNS AGAINST SUPERPOWER INVOLVEMENT

WA230020 Tehran TIMES in English 1 Jun 80 p 2

[Text] Tehran--The governor general of Guilan Province, Ali Ansari said in Rasht yesterday that Iran had thrown away the yoke of one superpower and it was not prepared to welcome any other power to take its place.

In an interview with PARS NEWS AGENCY, 'Ali 'Ansari said that Iran would rather die of hunger than reduce itself to dependence on any alien power.

He said the Iranian revolutionary leader Imam Khomeyni and the people of Iran had only one thing in their minds and that was the "freedom and independence" of their motherland. After holding a meeting with the Soviet consul, Ansari told the Soviet news agency TASS that Iran wanted real freedom and thus it was necessary to keep "our country independent of all other powers."

"We are ready to die of hunger but we shall not permit any other power to take the place of one already thrown out by the Iranian people," he added.

In an obvious reference to the United States, Ansari said the Iranian nation had achieved independence to stand on its own feet and to stop depending on others in a bid to make the Iranian nation habituated to a life of independent and dignified existence for all time to come. Referring to the Soviet Union, Ansari said that Iran was against welcoming any other power and added that "we need real independence."

He echoed an earlier statement of Imam Khomeyni about the export of the Iranian revolution and added that it was the duty of the Iranian nation to rush to the help of all those who were being oppressed by others. It was for this purpose that Iran was determined to provide all possible support to the Palestine Liberation Organization, he added. Ansari said Iran was importing its requirements from the Eastern European countries because the West European countries had decided to go along with the dictates of the United States.

QOTBZADEH DISCUSSES CONCEPT OF EXPORTING REVOLUTION

WA171404 Tehran TIMES in English 2 Jun 80 p 1

[By Irfan Parviz]

[Text] Tehran--"Exporting Iran's Islamic Revolution in its real sense is the propagation of its meaning and message in such a way as to carry conviction with other countries of the world," said Foreign Minister Sadeq Qotbzadeh in an exclusive interview with the Tehran TIMES yesterday.

"We ourselves should come to terms with the deeper inner meaning of the revolution, implement it here and make of it a thing of value to be emulated by other countries of the world. Then and then only will it have the far reaching and deep effects which we want it to have," Qotbzadeh said.

Qotbzadeh went on to explain that taking the revolution abroad did not imply any interference in the affairs of other countries. He said this question of interference had been raised many years ago and it is very clear that Iran does not wish to interfere as much as it would resent interference volution generated a great deal of enthusiasm resulting from the suppressions of freedom for almost 2,500 years when the country lived under the yoke of tyranny under kings and later under imperialism.

"A reaction to freedom from this suppression was a natural excitement, he said. "In fact, there has been quite an explosion and one that we have not been able to contain because of a lack of awareness by those holding official positions in government," he said.

Qotbzadeh, elaborating this, said that the officials whom he referred to had never before had any actual experience of government and it was this that created the problems. The revolution built up expectations among people which they thought would be immediately fulfilled, he said.

He said that the freedom that was unleashed took the form of free expression and a critical onslaught on almost everything people considered was not in the direction of the revolution. "It was not unusual even for ministers to be criticized over radio and TV. Therefore, was it unusual to find attacks and aspersions being made on countries with whom it would have been preferable to maintain more cordial ties?" he asked.

Qotbzadeh made it clear that this was not the official policy of the government, and reiterated that the two aspects should be definitely separated.

Qotbzadeh, confessing to confusions after the revolution, said that it was no easy task to restore things in their right perspective until an awareness of the real issues was created among people in the country.

He said that particularly in foreign relations the government had taken great pains to select the most experienced and best available ambassadors and diplomats the country could muster after the revolution but this was no easy task. It was not possible for the central government in Tehran working alone to supervise foreign relations at every turn, he said. [paragraph continues]

He attributed the misunderstandings that had been generated and the lack of relationships at diplomatic levels to this.

Qotbzadeh said that the government was doing all it could and was considering a number of these problems at its meetings and would eventually create the conditions for an influence in the region which would help in freeing the regions from super power influence and domination.

As to Iraq, he said its government was altogether dictated to by the U.S. and followed its instructions to the letter. He said that Iran's animosity to the Iraqi Government was far from deep-rooted and denied that it stemmed from the fact that Iraq commanded influence in the region as Iran's neighbor. But it was because, undeniably, Iraq was a puppet and agent of imperialism, he said.

He predicted that the Iraqi Government would be dislodged within six months to one year because, he said, "the people of that country will not be able to bear the burden anymore of that government's killings and atrocities." Qotbzadeh said, "It does not mean that Iran is intervening into Iraq's internal matters." He said, "It's the people of Iraq who are no more ready to tolerate that government. Qotbzadeh, however, asked how long Iran can show patience.

Asked as to Iran's official position regarding its smaller and weaker neighbors in the region Qotbzadeh said: "It would be wrong to call them weak. Not weak. I don't believe they have realized their real power. We want them to realize their real power and not get scared if they wish to use their force and begin a movement to be free of domination." He added that Iran was prepared to help these countries in every way it could but said that they in turn should safeguard their independence from superpower influence and intimidation.

Qotbzadeh said he had not extended invitations to any foreign ministers in the countries he visited because it would be up to an elected government to do so. Moreover, he said, "We should invite them when we could absorb such visits and reciprocate with follow up visits in return." He said he sent his regret to the Saudi foreign minister for having made such a short visit--a week for a tour of six countries and he hoped that he could make a renewed visit of longer duration again, which will include Saudi Arabia also.

FOREIGN REPORTERS SAID BIASED FOR CULTURAL REASONS

WA180922 Tehran TIMES in English 2 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] Tehran--The director general of the foreign press in the Ministry of National Guidance said yesterday that the reports of foreign correspondents were biased and incorrect and one of the reasons for that was the deep cultural difference between Islam and the Western materialism. It was mainly because of this difference between the two cultures that certain things which were liked in the West were not acceptable in an Islamic society, he added.

In a lengthy interview with the Farsi morning newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI partly published yesterday, Sadeq said that a foreign journalist brought up in a Western society should in fact be very honest and impartial to understand the problems of the Iranian nations. However, he added, an honest and impartial correspondent would also not be allowed by the Western media controlled by the Zionists to work honestly and send factual reports.

Taking these facts into consideration it was obvious that the correspondents belonging to the imperialist countries or their allies could not be of any help to Iran, Sadeq said.

Sadeq further said that the foreign correspondents enjoyed no privileges and there was no distinction between them and others. The Ministry of National Guidance issued them with accreditation cards after they were found eligible to work in Iran as journalists by Iranian missions abroad. He said it had been observed that Iranian Government officials prefer to grant interviews and talk to foreign correspondents ignoring those working for the national press. But, he added, the Iranians working for the foreign press were also not as hardworking and capable as their foreign counterparts are and this was a great handicap which should be removed as soon as possible.

Referring to the freedom of press in Iran, Sadeq said that according to the LE MONDE correspondent the freedom of press in Iran following the revolution was unprecedented in the world.

The Ministry of National Guidance had no control over foreign pressmen and it was the people and other organizations who reported to the Ministry of National Guidance on their irregularities in this country, Sadeq said.

BANI-SADR ORDERS KHALKHALI TO ROUND UP ADDICTS

WA172007 Tehran TIMES in English 2 Jun 80 p 1

[Text] Tehran--President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr yesterday ordered Islamic Judge Ayatollah Sadeq Khalkhali to round up drug addicts from the streets of Tehran and arrange their treatment, the state radio said.

Bani-Sadr issued the order after a 75-minute meeting with Khalkhali, who ordered recently the executions of 41 men found guilty of trafficking in drugs.

The meeting appeared to mark the end of a row in which Bani-Sadr stripped Khalkhali of judicial powers when he initiated the destruction of a Tehran mausoleum of the shah's father last month. The mausoleum was left half in ruins as Khalkhali became preoccupied with a campaign to eradicate rampant drug addiction in Iran.

Bani-Sadr ordered the army and revolutionary guards to cooperate with Khalkhali in tracking down drug smugglers and peddlers. But hundreds of drug addicts encamped at the luxurious Tehran Horse Racing Club were ordered removed from the area after protests by employees of the closed down club. The $35-million track was allowed to reopen after the Islamic Revolution last year because Imam Khomeyni decreed that wagering on horses did not defy Islamic law. But revolutionaries objected to mixed gatherings of male and female punters.

After drug addicts were taken to the track last week, the revolutionaries accused track managers of spying, citing the ultra modern computers, closed-circuit television and communication equipment. Employees hotly retorted that the equipment was commonly used in any modern racecourse.

The 60-hectare (148 acres) racecourse was ordered by the shah and features a three-story grandstand, with airconditioned viewing for members on two floors and capacity for 30,000 racegoers on the ground, 25 boxes for privileged members and a royal box, eight restaurants and snack bars and a huge car park.

SHAHPUR BAKHTIAR INTERVIEWED IN PARIS ON IRANIAN SITUATION

JN241735 Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 21 Jun 80 pp 30, 33

[Text of interview granted by former Iranian Premier Shahpur Bakhtiar to As'ad Haydar, correspondent of the Paris-based Arabic weekly AL-MUSTAQBAL, in Paris, date not specified]

[Text] [Question] Could you say a few words so that we can try the recorder?

[Answer] Let us see first if the recorder is functioning.

[Question] Are things going well in Iran or not?

[Answer] Iran lives in an atmosphere of instability and chaos at all levels. One cannot talk now about a government or a state in Iran.

[Question] Despite the chaos you are talking about, the Iranian people have elected a president and President Bani-Sadr is now in the process of appointing a premier.

[Answer] So what? What will the appointment of a premier do? We have a president of the republic, yet he cannot do anything in the presence of the mullahs.

[Question] So what is the solution?

[Answer] In my opinion, the solution is "no" to the shah and "no" to Khomeyni, but "yes" to a popular democratic government. The mullahs' chaos has spread all over Iran, permitting the communists to operate underground. The communists are known for their patience and good organization. Of course, they do not constitute an immediate threat, but they are working for the future.

[Question] Are there any other bigger and more powerful forces now in Iran?

[Answer] What others? The mullahs? They are ineffective and the others are not allowed to operate. The way Mr Khomeyni has applied Islam has made life unbearable in Iran. I wish I could meet with 'Arafat one day to ask him: How could you, who believe in a secular state, come to an understanding and coexist with Khomeyni? I am sure that the day 'Arafat has his state, Khomeyni will be his number one enemy.

[Question] Why?

Bakhtiar looked pensive, as if he saw the whole scene before him, and then broke into gloating laughter and continued:

[Answer] Khomeyni will not stand for such a state. He has interpreted the Shi'ite sect as he sees it. He wants to export it abroad. I believe that Mr Khomeyni has no right to insult the Iraqi Government. He has no right to do that whatsoever. He also has no right to create hardships for the neighboring Persian Gulf states.

[Question] It has been noted that your opinion of Imam Khomeyni has turned 180 degrees around. First you welcomed him as a great man, then you said that he was a madman and so forth. Why? Was it because of a power struggle?

[Answer] Listen sir, when I was struggling against the shah's regime, Mr Khomeyni was doing nothing.

My struggle was against a regime that I considered a corrupt dictatorship. When Khomeyni came to Iran--and I welcomed him then--I said that he could use his spiritual power to help calm the people and the situation and to give support to the patriotic forces. I also said that Khomeyni could, through his spiritual power, offer some kind of vision regarding the future of Iran. Furthermore, his return would prevent bloodshed in the country. But considering the number of people killed since his return, we find that there has been a bloodbath. He has also uttered nothing but stupidities. And if his books were to be translated into French and English, I would feel ashamed of myself as an Iranian.

[Question] Didn't you read them in Persian?

[Answer] I did not read them and I will not waste my time doing so. I just went through them after I saw what he has done.

[Question] Should Imam Khomeyni have simply handed power over to you?

[Answer] In the interest of Iran, Khomeyni should have said: I have done my duty and played my role and I am now going to Qom, after I have appointed a prime minister for you, which was what he did. But he did not leave Bazargan alone, because he cannot stand anyone. True, I can fight more than Bazargan, but nobody can govern in the presence of Khomeyni or cooperate with him. Even I would not have succeeded. He is a dictator. Under the shah, there was the SAVAK, and under Khomeyni there is something more dangerous--religion. He can say: You are not a Muslim, therefore you must be destroyed.

[Question] How, then, did Khomeyni become the revolution's symbol and leader, if all he did was to utter absurdities and commit crimes?

[Answer] The ignorance and lack of education of the majority of the Iranian people, the weakness of Mosaddeq's progressive followers and the absence of parties all created a gigantic vacuum, which Khomeyni has filled.

[Question] You are accusing the majority of the Iranian people of ignorance and illiteracy. Don't you see that you have no roots linking you with the Iranian people and that you do not know what these people want?

[Answer] Fifty percent of the Iranians are illiterate and this is the fault of the shah's government. Of course, I am not blaming all of the people, since this is not their fault. This is the fault of the government, which did not provide them with the education they deserve. Indeed, the shah had the chance to do so, but throughout his rule he did not take the opportunity. As for the way Khomeyni rules Iran, this is not practiced by any Muslim ruler.

[Question] From a social point of view it can be said that Khomeyni's Islam is difficult. However, Khomeyni has given Islam a revolutionary dimension, which is represented by independence from U.S. imperialism. Can't you distinguish between Khomeyni's social Islam and political Islam?

[Answer] What we have done against the shah for 30 years is something we all agree upon. However, the regime that is currently closest to the United States, or to put it more correctly, to Western imperialism, is Khomeyni's regime.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] I will tell you why. What would a Western state want for a state like Iran? It would wish that Iran be an undeveloped state, with backward industry. We are currently buying everything and our factories are not working.

The economy and industry are ruined. Mosaddeq fought against imperialism and he knows very well how he fought it. However, Khomeyni hates everything done by Mosaddeq. This proves the selfishness of the man of religion. Mosaddeq fought the English with all of his might, but he did not imprison diplomats. It is absurd for diplomats to be imprisoned.

[Question] But those diplomats are spies.

[Answer] Come, my friend, all of the world's diplomats are spies, in one way or another and in varying degree. Thus, what we have to do now is to close down the nest of espionage and send them home.

[Question] But Khomeyni wants to uproot the Americans from Iran.

[Answer] How? Through arresting 50 diplomats....

[Question] The issue is not one of arresting 50 hostages but one of deepening the Iranian people's hatred of Americans.

Bakhtiar then laughed derisively, which helped him gather his thoughts. He then continued:

[Answer] What else now? It is not through malice alone that nations are built. Gamal 'Abd an-Nasir did something for his country. Even Boumediene, whom I did not much support, did something for his people. It is not through slogans alone that imperialism can be overcome. Indeed, something must be done to overcome imperialism.

[Question] You said that Shari'at Madari can play a role, since he is openminded. Do you believe this and can he replace Khomeyni?

[Answer] I hope that neither Khomeyni, Shari'at Madari nor any other man of religion will play a role in Iran's future. Let all of the men of religion--the mullahs--go to their mosques. Religion is good, but only when practiced in the mosque. I am probably more of a Muslim than Khomeyni and I do not kill. However, despite everything, you can hold a discussion with Shari'at Madari, since he at least accepts the people's opinion and does not talk about the Vilayat Faqih. What is Vilayat Faqih?

Despite all of this, I believe that there is no place in Iran for one who wears a turban. We have to respect the laws of Islam and this was included in the old Constitution. Now you will tell me that the defunct regime did not respect this text. But what text did the shah's dictatorial regime respect?

[Question] Why, then, did you agree to cooperate with the shah?

After laughing loudly, Bakhtiar said:

[Answer] How so?

[Question] You agreed to be prime minister at a time when everyone else refused to assume this post.

[Answer] The shah despised me for 25 years, but when he summoned me he told me that the country was on the verge of collapse. I told him that I would agree to assume the post of prime minister, but on the condition that he left. No one dared say such a thing to the shah. Please judge people by their acts, since words are not enough.

[Question] In his memoirs, specifically on pages 241 and 242, the shah wrote that when you two met you had a long discussion and you expressed your appreciation of and attachment to the monarchy.

[Answer] Not to the monarchy at all, but to the Constitution.

[Question] The shah wrote this; I have read the text.

[Answer] The shah put a number of absurdities in his memoirs. However, I have always supported and still support the Constitution.

[Question] Which Constitution? The monarchy Constitution or that of 1906?

[Answer] I support the 1906 Constitution, which defined the powers of the monarch. No to the Islamic Republic. Yes to a republic. I would prefer to have a committee define the interpretations that we want to be included in the Constitution. Then we can discuss Iran's future.

[Question] What is the system you want? A monarchy? A republic? A Western republic? Or an Islamic democratic system? The 1906 Constitution discussed the monarchy.

[Answer] Neither you, I nor Khomeyni can decide upon Iran's system. Indeed, it is the people who must decide upon a system.

[Question] You said that 50 percent of these people are ignorant or illiterate. So how can they choose a regime, not to mention the fact that these people have already chosen the Islamic Republic as a regime?

[Answer] If you are saying that the people have chosen the Islamic Republic as a regime then there is nothing to discuss. This regime is criminal. It is a Hitler-like regime, but lacks both power and ability. It is not at all like the rest of the world's countries--particularly France, which is the most constitutional--where the elite rule. Yet Khomeyni does not accept this concept. Men of religion like Khalkhali are no less criminal than Nasiri, the SAVAK chief who was executed by Khalkhali.

[Question] Don't you think that Nasiri, Sadiqi and others among the shah's aides deserve to be executed?

[Answer] They would have been executed during my reign. But I would first have issued a law on this. For Khomeyni, courts do not exist. Nothing exists but his own will. I would like to tell you a sad thing: Were Mossadeq alive, he would be in jail now.

[Question] But there are many Mossadeqs among Bani-Sadr's aides. How can you explain this?

[Answer] They are nothing, only "crooks." They are not genuine followers of Mossadeq. No self-respecting person would cooperate with the present regime. It would be both improper and surprising should 100 percent of the people vote for the Islamic Republic. How can a Christian be interested in the Islamic Republic? I am Iranian first and Muslim second. I could be Jewish or Christian. It is not enough for one to say that I am a Shi'ite. What does he have against the Sunnis? What does he have against Saddam Husayn? He must live and let live. The Soviet Union is communist, for people are free to choose. Khomeyni wants to be an Abassid Caliph. He wants to be a Harun ar-Rashid [Abassid Caliph] But this story is over. Moreover, Harun ar-Rashid was smart. He encouraged culture and the arts. Khomeyni opposes culture.

[Question] Where does President Bani-Sadr stand in regard to all of this?

[Answer] I have already talked about Bani-Sadr's stand. I reiterate what I said with the following equation: Khomeyni plus Bani-Sadr equals Khomeyni; Bani-Sadr minus Khomeyni equals zero.

[Question] You have frequently announced that your return will be both soon and public and yet here you are, as you are always here.

[Answer] I am not always here. Sometimes I am in Iran. It is my plan, which I am preparing very carefully. But I want to tell you one definite thing: I will not be like Khomeyni who waited until the shah left and then entered Iran. What I want and hope for is that when I return to Iran, Mr Khomeyni will still be there, so that I can bring him to the dock with all of the international guarantees.

[Question] On what charges would you bring him to trial?

[Answer] I would try him as a criminal, for the crimes he has committed against Iran's existence. His crimes are like those of the shah. We had a country wallowing in corruption; now we have no country. We have massacres instead, our economy is ruined. We are internationally isolated. I have conveyed the following to 'Arafat through one of the Arab leaders: "Mr 'Arafat, before I became a prime minister I supported the principle of having your representative in Tehran. Don't forget that I received congratulatory cables from Syria and Iraq for this stand. When I became a prime minister, I immediately announced the termination of oil exports to Israel. Now, in light of the cooperation shown by some of your aides with Khomeyni's group, it would be very difficult for any coming government to take the same stand regarding you. It is a sad thing, but very realistic." Many things have happened that I cannot talk about. Yet the Palestinian camps are witnesses of this.

[Question] Where were these massacres?

[Answer] There are massacres....

[Question] How many Palestinians are in Iran?

[Answer] Thousands of Palestinians.

[Question] Then you are confirming the reports prepared by Western intelligence, especially U.S. intelligence, on the presence of Palestinians in Iran. Do you thus agree with their reports?

[Answer] I do not agree. I am sure. However, it is not a matter of agreement or disagreement.

[Question] What is important is whether you will soon return to Iran or not.

[Answer] You have to ask people who are much more powerful than I. Who can tell whether the Soviet Union will invade Iran tomorrow or whether the United States will undertake another stupid action? All of this depends upon several factors. At any rate, I will continue the struggle.

[Question] Do you believe that the recent U.S. military operation was stupid?

[Answer] Listen, we must define matters. I am against taking hostages from any country or in any country, whether in Tehran, London, Colombia or in any other country in the world.

One should admit that Carter behaved very wisely at the outset. He tried all peaceful methods, through UN mediation, Waldheim, several delegations and the International Court of Justice.

At this point, his French assistant entered and gave Bakhtiar several cassettes with Bakhtiar's picture on them.

[Answer continues] If Mr Khomeyni really intended to sever relations with the Americans, he would have done so on the first day he arrived in Tehran. But Mr Khomeyni wanted, through this operation, to prevent the Iranians from seeing their deteriorating economic problems and their country's international isolation.

[Question] I can see that you are using the cassette tape recorder. Are you imitating Khomeyni?

[Answer] It is my right, so why not? When Khomeyni smuggled cassettes during my reign I did not do anything about it. And yet three of my followers were executed the minute they were arrested while distributing cassettes.

[Question] Do you believe that the cassette serves as a good weapon in speeding your return? Don't you possess any other weapon?

[Answer] At the present there are no newspapers or information media through which I can address the Iranians. There is only God's party.

[Question] Don't you use weapons?

[Answer] God willing, we have plenty of weapons. When the time for armed struggle comes, we will take action.

[Question] Bombs recently exploded in Iran, in public squares and theaters. The front for the liberation of Iran, which you lead, has claimed responsibility for these operations. Do you consider this the proper method for your return?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to say that due to the difficulty in communications some of my groups are isolated. It is possible that when a man reaches a state of despair, because of what is taking place, he might do such things. They are my supporters, but I have never told them to do such things. As for the use of bombs, Khomeyni was the first to use them.

[Question] But Khomeyni did not use bombs.

[Answer] He used them against the army.

[Question] Well, he used them against the army, but not against peaceful inhabitants!

[Answer] Yes, that did happen. For where is the officer who was accused of burning down the Abadan cinema? He was released from prison.

[Question] The newspaper LE MONDE has stressed that an opposition meeting has recently been convened and that, in addition to you, it was attended by General Oveysi.

[Answer] Have you not read my denial?

[Question] I have read it, but please let me continue.

[Answer] I do not and will never cooperate with the Oveysi group. I am still committed to the same line that I have followed for 30 years.

[Question] But with whom does Iran's liberation army, which you lead, cooperate? Doesn't it include officers?

[Answer] Are there no patriotic officers in Iran? There are. Of course there are. They are the early youth, who were persecuted by the former regime.

[Question] Excuse me, I want to speak frankly. As I have stressed to you here, I am taking the position of the other side's advocate.

[Answer] Listen, my friend, you can speak frankly. All of my life I have worked for the homeland, freedom and progress. As for foreign politics, I support Nehru's view. I support his outlook on the world. I cannot be like Khomeyni, who says that those who support his Islamic view are good and that those who do not are bad.

[Question] Let me go back a little.

[Answer] Please do.

[Question] Before you reached power, the shah said in his memoirs that the Americans sent General Wheeler to prevent the Iranian officers from carrying out a coup. In your opinion, why did the Americans prevent a coup in Iran?

[Answer] Why did the Americans prevent a coup? It must be admitted that the coup was the last solution. If the shah had had a little intelligence and had chosen a patriotic prime minister 6 months before me, none of the subsequent events would have taken place.

[Question] Do you really believe that the Americans misunderstood Khomeyni's power and that they did not know Iran's domestic situation exactly?

[Answer] I want to stress something to you. The Americans were not very intelligent in the policy they planned for Iran. But let us put this aside. As I have explained to you, there were no organized parties. They saw the communist threat and, along with all of the West, they helped Khomeyni.

[Question] Why did they help Khomeyni?

[Answer] In order to stop the communists.

[Question] Was there really a communist threat in Iran?

[Answer] The Americans used to say that if the shah left and a vacuum ensued in Iran, then there would really be a threat. But where there is the slogan "God is great," there will be no role for the communists. That is why they enlarged Khomeyni's image through all of the information media. For your information, 2 months ago (from the interview's date) they were in contact with Khomeyni. Only when the 5-member commission returned from Iran did the Americans realize that this man understood nothing of politics and that his task was to create religious fanaticism at a time when things were growing worse; and this is the Americans' fault.

This reminds me of an incident that happened to me before the war. When I was a student in France, I went to Germany and had a discussion with one of Hitler's youth. I asked him how many Jews were in Germany. He said that they numbered less than 30,000. I asked him why, if they were anti-Semitic, they didn't deport them and then relax. He answered: "No, they must remain here. If anything bad or less than positive takes place, we can say it is the Jews' fault."

I do not speak about the Jews as Jews. Khomeyni is now following the same process. If he would build houses with the money he has, run factories and produce oil, he would not face all of this noise. Everything is now inoperative, even oil production. A country that does not produce cannot live. Even if we always say "God is great," what can God do for us? The country that does not work will not be helped by God.

[Question] Let us put emotions aside. Do you believe, from what you said, that Khomeyni is a puppet in the hands of the Americans or their agent?

[Answer] Despite what Khomeyni and Bani-Sadr say, that.... I cannot follow their method. As you say in Arabic, honesty (and he said this in Arabic) compels me to say that Khomeyni is not an agent of the Americans or a puppet in their hands. But the Americans, for the special reasons I stated, have helped him. Furthermore, those around Khomeyni have relations either with or against the United States and any other states you care to name.

The problem is that Khomeyni only began practicing politics when he was 65 years old. He is ignorant of everything, even the politics of economy.

[Question] Let us be fair. Not all of the problems now in Iran are due to the revolution or Khomeyni. Some are due to internal and external conspiracies to which Iran is exposed.

[Answer] Had Khomeyni left matters to that poor miserable fellow Bazargan, who is also an engineer and who knows how to run a factory, the situation would have been different. No, sir. Khomeyni says that he is supported by 98 percent of the people. Could the remaining two percent have shelled the Kurdish villages and carried out all of these massacres in Iran? His failure is certain and final. Khomeyni is finished, finished. He was finished 6 months ago. Presently, there are three million unemployed workers. They are sitting idle and demanding their wages, and they are getting these wages. Is that the way to run a country?

[Question] When you were prime minister, you sent a letter to Khomeyni. What was in that letter?

[Answer] I sent him two letters in which I tried to explain the situation. There is one basic thing I must say first: I am Iranian and Khomeyni is not Iranian. And this is fundamental.

[Question] Sorry, what?

[Answer] Khomeyni is not an Iranian or a patriot.

[Question] Not a patriot?

[Answer] Absolutely not. When he was on the plane after 14 years in exile, the journalists asked him: What do you feel? He said: "Nothing." With me, the situation is different. I grew up in the Mossadeq school.

I told him very politely in that letter that I had struggled more than he and that I was a lot younger than he was when I started. I said that I welcomed his return to Iran so that there could be stability in the country and so that the bloodshed would end and so forth. Some 2 or 3 days later, I sent him a second letter, with the help of Beheshti and Motahhari. In that letter I said: "Izzatollah Ayatollah Khomeyni: Because I am an Iranian, who has long fought for the freedom and independence of my country, I would like to come to Paris in the next 24 hours to meet with you."

I contacted Bazargan, who was in prison with me once, and said: Would you like to accompany me on my plane, or come on another plane, so that we can explain the situation to Khomeyni and ask his help in restoring stability to the country?

Motahhari and Bazargan agreed to the letter, contacted Khomeyni and read it to him. Khomeyni agreed to it. But 3 hours later, and I don't know at whose instigation, Khomeyni rejected the letter. He told me: "Come to me after you have resigned." I told him: I am neither Bazargan nor Sanjabi. I am not a weak man, sir. You have no right to ask me to resign. The Parliament alone can dismiss me. I remained in office until the machineguns forced me out.

[Question] And Beheshti?

[Answer] He is a fox, my friend, he is a fox. He is the Rasputin of the revolution. He knows how to maneuver. I know a great deal about him. But I'm sorry, I can't tell you anything.

[Question] Fine, let us switch off the recorder and talk.

[Answer] That is not the point. I told you that Khomeyni is an honest man. But I can assure you that 9 out of 10 people around Mr Khomeyni were getting monthly salaries, and sometimes other remunerations, from the SAVAK. I challenge anyone to produce any document condemning me.

[Question] In the 41 days in which you ruled Iran?

[Answer] In the 38 days.

[Question] This is not important. Why did you decide to leave Iran when the battle at the "Immortals" barracks was over?

[Answer] Let us be fair. I took over the post of prime minister to prevent a bloodbath. The communists asked me: Why did you cooperate with the shah and assume the premiership? Had I not assumed this post, some general would have taken over power through a coup or a bloodbath. I tried to prevent such a massacre by initiating reforms desired by everyone in the country.

[Question] The question is still unanswered.

[Answer] I did not give orders to open fire on the demonstrators. I told the army not to open fire unless it was fired upon. I told the army to disperse the demonstrators by using teargas bombs. What did you expect me to do? The army decided to be neutral and set its arms aside.

[Question] The question remains. Why did the army do that?

[Answer] This will take some time to explain. The army was not a patriotic one, it was an army intended to protect the regime. I tried to reform it by building an army smaller in size, but one that was strong and agile. It would definitely not have been a showpiece. When the shah departed, the army collapsed. Had Mr Khomeyni given me 2 more months, he would not be there now.

[Question] You continue to say "Mr Khomeyni." Don't you believe that he is an "imam"?

[Answer] We do not have an "imam" in Iran. You can say imam in Arabic, but there is no "imam" in Iran except the "twelfth imam."

[Question] But they call him the representative of the imam or Ayatollah al-Ozma in Iran.

[Answer] You can call him what you like.

[Question] How do you see the situation between Iran and its neighbor gulf states and Iraq?

[Answer] Of course Khomeyni and that "miserable child" Bani-Sadr are responsible for this. They want to export the revolution abroad and to dominate Iraq and the Persian Gulf states. What right have they to do that?

[Question] They are doing this in the name of the revolution.

[Answer] What do they want to export abroad? This.... That is, Bani-Sadr spent 14 years abroad. When I see how he behaves, it makes me sad.

[Question] Is there any danger of a real war between Iraq and Iran, for instance?

[Answer] I have contacts with everyone. I advised them all not to do such a stupid thing. Why do we have to go to war? Just because Khomeyni says certain.... I told President Saddam Husayn: Don't confuse what Khomeyni says with what a rational Iranian would say. If we fall into the hands of the communists, you will be the second victim. I repeated this in the cassette here before me. The present situation is not in Iran's interest.

[Question] How do you view Iranian foreign policy?

[Answer] I told you that I have been a supporter of Nehru's policy--that is nonalignment. I would also have cooperated with everyone and refrained from interfering in other people's affairs.

At this point, his French aide entered and said that his next appointment was due.

[Answer continues] I would also have pursued the policy of democratic socialism.

[Question] If a coup attempt occurred, what would your position be?

[Answer] If a coup attempt occurred and expelled Khomeyni, I would breathe a sigh of relief, but I would definitely not cooperate with them. And if they asked me to become prime minister I would ask them to leave.

[Question] Don't you think that the French are playing the same game with you that they played with Khomeyni?

[Answer] I don't think so. I am facing many difficulties. It takes 3 days for the media to report my news.

At any rate, the Khomeyni phase is over and nobody will want to cooperate with him.